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ABSTRACT

This issue of the "Courier" examines the quality of life as it can be improved by adult education, especially in the countries of Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific. It also looks at the need for women's education. The following six articles are included: (1) "The Future of the Family" (Federico Mayor); (2) "Her Words on His Lips: Gender Popular Education in South Africa" (Shirley Walters); (3) "Literacy among Women in India" (Nishat Farooq); (4) "Second Cycle Development Problems and the Role of Adult Education: A Case Study of Sri Lanka" (Mohottige U Sedere); (5) "Rural Nonformal Education in China" (Dong Mingchuan); and (6) "The Adult Basic Education Society of Pakistan" (Vincent A. David). (KC)

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ADULT EDUCATION
THE QUALITY OF LIFE

ASPBAE COURIER NO. 52

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CONTENTS

	Page
Contents	i
Introduction	ii
THE FUTURE OF THE FAMILY Federico Mayor	1
HER WORDS ON HIS LIPS: GENDER POPULAR EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA Shirley Walters	5
LITERACY AMONG WOMEN IN INDIA Nishat Farooq	21
SECOND CYCLE DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS AND THEROLE OF ADULT EDUCATION: A CASE STUDY OF SRI LANKA Mohottige U Sedere	29
RURAL NONFORMAL EDUCATION IN CHINA Dong Mingchuan	42
THE ADULT BASIC EDUCATION SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN Vincent A David	49

INTRODUCTION

The theme of this number is 'Adult Education the Quality of Life'. A German Professor (Helmut Becker, 1984) observed that 'adult education must ensure that learning contributes to the happiness and development of the individual and that it does not become his misfortune.' The case for adult education has been well stated by him.

'The quality of life of a nation is in a sense a composite product of the people who compose it.' Then it is a product of its education (Kiras Mushkin and Billings, **Education Outcome Measurement in Developing Countries**, 1975). These two quotations amply demonstrate the link between education and the quality of life of a people.

Asia has nearly two-thirds of the illiterates of the world. The South Pacific region is more fortunate. It has only a few countries without a totally literate population. Illiteracy, poverty and hunger seem to coexist in many countries of the South. Unless adult education in all its varieties and methodologies addresses itself to improving the quality of life of its recipients all state or voluntary agencies will be operating in vain in this field.

In this context the contributions to this number from a few academics of Asia, Africa and the Pacific are interesting, challenging and even illuminating. The Director-General of Unesco has well stated the case for the family as a basic social organisation in improving the quality of life of its members. When gender discrimination persists in any society, the quality of life for half its persons becomes meaningless. Other contributions on the kind of education problems of development in the second stage and the organisation of adult education illustrate some new perceptions.

I wish to thank the many contributors who so readily responded to requests for articles.

Premadasa Udagama

THE FUTURE OF THE FAMILY

Federico Mayor
Director-General, UNESCO

I should like to start by asking you to turn your thoughts to those families that are today in distress - torn apart by wars, grappling with ethnic conflicts, decimated by famine or disease, filled with dread at the threat of lethal attacks by chemical or bacteriological weapons, crushed by long endurance of discrimination or domination, exiled by hatred and intolerance, ravaged by drugs and alcohol. As I speak to you this morning, words of sympathy go out first and foremost to all those families.

The family plays a key role in constructing the defences of peace in the minds of men and women, the task assigned to UNESCO by its Constitution. If families become better educators, understanding and tolerance are enhanced; if the community of love and devotion that the family represents is nurtured, violence and hatred are eliminated. This is the solid, strong, unobtrusive and anonymous web of wisdom and generosity that helps the world to make progress, against all the odds.

The family: as Claude Levi-Strauss said in **Le regard eloigne,** 'the word seems so clear, the reality that it represents so close to everyday experience, that there should be no mystery in what is said about the family. However, ethnologists discover complications even in 'familiar things'. Although outwardly simple, the family is in fact one of the most complex and subtle of human institutions.

In many countries, traditional ways of life still make the family what it is and set the pace of changes occurring in it. In others, the process of development - and in particular, modernization, urbanization and industrialization - have brought families face to face with a new set of conditions, needs and pressures which, combined, are producing a number of general trends.

Those trends include changes in parent-children relations and, above all, the new status of women in certain societies. In most cultures, for example, the dividing line between the roles of men and women within the family is becoming blurred. The growing number of women on the labour market has substantially changed the set-up of married and family life in many countries. Similarly, in other cases, the father's role in relation to the child is changing and is becoming more similar to the mother's role.

The consequence of recent biological and medical discoveries in the field of procreation may, in the long run, be considerable. They may revolutionize relations between parents and offspring. All cultures will be affected by these discoveries and will have to define their position in the light of new choices.

In rejoinder to the notorious **Families, I hate you** by Andre Gide who railed against those 'Closed homes, locked doors, possessions, jealous of happiness', sociologists today stress, on the contrary, the extent to which the family has opened up to the outside world. It has changed, but it has not collapsed. Despite appearances, it is still strong. It has reorganized itself in line with changing mores.

Of course, the family should be regarded not so much as a fixed element but as an evolving unit with considerable flexibility and capacity for change, not only during its lifetime as such, but also as part of a process, with technology, values and social structures affecting it, and vice versa.

As the only natural society, according to Rousseau, the family will always be able to function as the vehicle of cultural and ethical values and to play a part in protecting human beings from solitude or violence. Furthermore, the family represents both the foremost beneficiary and the primary agent of the development of the human species. In view of the diversity and intricacy of the factors involved, multidisciplinary research is necessary if firm foundations are to laid to enable the individual to become aware of his or her family behaviour pattern and to enable the State to shape economic and social policy.

Five major changes call for a response on our part. First, demographic changes. In certain countries, the fall in the birth rate is such that population replacement is in doubt. In others, on the other hand, demographic growth is a major problem. Such growth is a cause for concern worldwide, in view of finite resources.

Second, mention may be made - particularly in the industrialized countries - of changes in women's attitudes to work outside the home, and, more generally, changes in the distribution of roles between men and women, which calls for adjustment. How does each person cope? Women who have chosen to stay at home to look after their children full time - how do they react to this change?

Family diversity is the third change that we shall be discussing here. The standard model of the nuclear family and its relations with its environment is giving way to a variety of models. The term 'family' covers a wide range of structures, styles and functions. It differs within a given country and from one region to another. In every society, the family is constantly evolving. The family structure changes as members of the family reach different stages in their life cycle. Changes in values, structures and functions are factors that affect each member of the family.

Family membership implies mutual responsibility. In the family unit, the stronger members must try to support weaker, less capable members, whether the reason for that weakness or incapacity be age, physical mental handicap or any other difficulty. It is very important to establish equal rights and responsibilities within the nuclear family between men and women, and this must include an equitable sharing of roles and egalitarian status. Children

must be protected from all forms of violence and exploitation. The education of girls must not be treated as less important than that of boys; here again, equality is a must.

The fourth change concerns the rights that individuals claim within the family and within society - the right to life, to survival itself, of 'street children', the right of deprived families or families in economic difficulties and the right to a decent old age.

The last category of changes concerns major changes in life-styles. First of all, there is technological change, which must be harnessed to ensure greater freedom and greater responsibility; how, and on what conditions, can the new technologies help the child and the family as a whole to enjoy greater freedom? The role of the school today has been transformed by social changes and by the advent of new modes of communication. How can we, together with parents, make a timely response to this change? The urbanization of societies is an irreversible fact of life, but all too often the cities do not possess the structures that are necessary for the well-being of young people and of people in difficulty. Housing, opportunities for people to meet, employment, congenial leisure activities - all these must be taken care of.

Mindful of these changes and of their effects on the future of human beings and society, UNESCO does not confine itself to studying the family as a 'factor of development'; it looks at the family as a many faceted whole.

The studies conducted by the Secretariat have brought out three main lines of investigation. The first concerns peace and ethical values, in so far as the family - an institution in which there is the finest network of social relations - is one of the main providers of moral and civic education, the corner-stone of identity, and the unit in which the individual first acquires the ability to establish relations of mutual understanding by listening and showing respect to others. This educational role played by the family, from the point of view of the transmission of social and ethical values, would repay examination in the light of the developments under way in our societies.

The second line of investigation highlighted concerns social transformations and changes in behaviour and outlook. It is within the family that these differences in attitude towards life and changes that affect relations between men and women are most perceptible. We can scarcely discuss the family without reference to the study of social and cultural changes and to the issues of human rights and, more particularly, the rights of women and of the child.

The third line of reflection concerns the role that the family can play in the implementation of development strategies, a role that UNESCO has had occasion to underscore many times in its programme.

Following lengthy discussions in the Executive Board, a survey by questionnaire was conducted among Member States and various agencies of the United Nations system, and after consideration of its findings and of the Executive Board's suggestions, the General Conference of UNESCO adopted, at its twenty fourth session, a resolution recommending the proclamation of

an International Year of the Family. On 8 December 1989, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the resolution proclaiming 1994 International Year of the Family.

As early as 1987, UNESCO took the initiative, among other activities in this connection, of conducting a worldwide consultation on the future of the family, a project implemented over the last two years with the assistance of the United Nations Population Fund. The symposium starting today is the outcome of these discussions and regional consultation, and as such it is, for many partners, of great importance, as you know, and I am sure that you will be anxious to contribute through your discussions to a better understanding of social problems and to policy-making on family and population issues. I wish you every success in your work; the future of the family in the world is nothing less than the future of the world itself.

HER WORDS ON HIS LIPS: GENDER AND POPULAR EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Dr Shirley Walters
Professor of Adult & Continuing Education and Director Centre for Adult & Continuing Education (CACE) University of the Western Cape, South Africa

Introduction

> "I was appointed as a media and trade union officer in a male dominated trade union. When I had this experience I hadn't before realised how vicious and selfish men could be. This 'comrade' took my idea of producing a diary and presented it to the shop steward forum as his own. But when it came to the work, cutting and pasting, I did it. I still don't have the skills to deal with this kind of thing, because it affects you inside."

At a recent 'Gender and Popular Education Workshop' held in Cape Town, South Africa, 39 women from different parts of the country shared their stories of subordination in their personal and work lives. In several instances, as with the above quote, the stories told of the subjective experiences of being disempowered through the acts of men in their organisations or families.(1)

Gender subordination within community and trade union organisations within South Africa is an undeniable fact. This is nothing new either in South Africa or in many other countries of the world. What is new inside the country are the nascent attempts to challenge this subordination more explicitly through the development of particular organisational and educational strategies, referred to here as popular education.

The challenging of gender relations is very complex as they are part of an interlocking system of domination which includes sex, race, culture and class. Popular education has to work with the specificity of the intersection of gender relations with those of race, class, culture, including religion, in different localities and at different historical moments. It also has to take into account that there are two aspects to women's domination; one is the objective fact of their domination, and the other, their subjective experience of that domination. Popular education has to find ways in which both women and men can begin to confront gender subordination in ways which take full cognisance of both the subjective experience and the objective fact of domination. It needs to address the lived realities of both women and men.

In this article I will be exploring popular education as one strategy in the challenging of gender subordination within organizations. The popular

educational approach and the methodologies presently being developed are still in their formative stages, but they are seen to be crucial for an adult education practice that improves the quality of life particularly of women. In the following pages, I will elaborate the underlying theoretical assumptions which have influenced the development of the Gender and Popular Education (GPE) Workshops and will highlight what emerge as key challenges for popular educators in South Africa and elsewhere.

Gender Subordination within South African Organisations

Until very recently in South Africa the importance of gender struggles as part of the national liberation struggle was not recognised very widely. In the last year this has begun to change(2) and gender struggles have been legitimated within the mass democratic movement as political issues to be addressed within the process of national liberation. Up until this time gender struggles have in many instances been seen as diversions from the national liberation struggle. Calls for non-sexist practices, the leadership, were interpreted by both black and white women and men as coming from bourgeois or liberal feminists. Papers delivered at recent conferences of the African National Congress (ANC), the major liberation movement, demonstrate a decisive break with this argument as they argue for the elimination of gender inequalities and for the political empowerment of women as part of national liberation.

During the last few years gender struggles within some organisations have become more public, for example, within the democratic trade union movement, COSATU, within the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) and recently within the ANC.(3) During the GPE Workshop the participants spoke of various experiences of gender subordination within their organisations. These included various forms of sexual harassment, lack of participation by women on decision-making structures, ongoing silencing of women's ideas through, sometimes, subtle forms of behaviour. These ranged from the 'stealing' of women's ideas, to the trivialising of women's issues, to denial of experiences as relevant. One powerful example was given by participants from SAYCO. They had been part of an attempt to have the issue of sexual harassment debated and a policy formulated for the organization. When they made little headway in getting the issue to be discussed through the structures they decided to hold a public picket. This caused a great deal of debate within the organisation about 'due process'. But the organisers of the picket explained their dilemma. They asked, "How do we ask sexists for permission to raise their consciousness?"

From the testimonies of the women at the workshop it was clear that gender subordination is experienced at home and at work in many forms and on a wide scale. It includes subtle sexist behaviour, for example, one woman said, "I felt invisible. When I asked a question it wasn't answered, when a man asked the same question, it was answered." It includes sexual harassment which made one participant "feel totally powerless" and another "feel that I was not a person". It includes institutional practices which reinforce "men as the power centres".

It was in response to this context where space had begun to open up within the democratic movement to tackle gender subordination, that some women and men have begun to experiment, to debate, and to act out various educational and organisational strategies. The series of CPE Workshops have developed as part of this response. The popular educational approach which was developed through the workshops is based on certain understandings and assumptions about the nature of gender subordination and of transformative education. In the next sections these are elaborated.

What is gender subordination and why does it occur?

Put simply gender subordination refers to women's lack of institutional and decision-making power. 'Women are inferior to men because of their sex. Many women actively submit themselves to men's authority and collude with men in their own subjugation. Why does this happen? In order to begin to try to answer this, it's necessary to explore the meaning of 'gender' and how it is constructed.

What is 'gender' and how is it constructed?

According to Kate Young(4), there is as yet no well defined theory which helps us to understand systematically how men and women relate to each other, nor how these relations are built upon in the overall configuration of society, nor how they interlock with other sets of relations such as those of class and race. What we do know is that the relations between men and women are not randomly structured, that they are underpinned by economic and political arrangements as well as by ideology, and that while there are considerable similarities in the ways that men and women relate to each other in countries in diverse geographical locations, with different economic situations, and of dissimilar cultural practices, there are also very crucial differences.

What is 'gender'? The term gender was first coined by psychologists and then used by feminists to get away from the biologistic referent of the word sex. 'Gender' is a shorthand term which encodes a very crucial point that our basic social identities as men and women are socially constructed rather than based on fixed biological characteristics. In this sense we can talk about the historical differences in masculinity and femininity in a given society, as well as the differences in them between societies.

Gender then refers to a whole set of expectations held as to the likely behaviour, characteristics, and aptitudes men and women will have. It refers to the social meanings given to being either a man or a woman in a society. When we say that certain behaviour is 'unmanly', we are basing this judgement on our expectation as to how 'real' men behave. In large measure such judgements are based on gender stereotypes and one of the puzzles in analysis is the pervasiveness of such stereotypes and, by extension, their origins. In part they clearly derive from 'commonsense notion' about differences between men and women which have more or less explicit principles that men and women differ fundamentally; that men are superior both physically and intellectually. Behind these notions lie a number of

assumptions that physical difference influences mental traits, which in turn influence aptitudes and predispositions; that such difference is natural and unproblematic.

The commonsense approach provides in fact a popular theory about human nature and a justification for existing relationships between men and women which is essentialist and derived from this biological model of human nature. In contrast, the gender approach holds that(5)

> Gender differences and the experience of difference, are socially and psychologically created and situated - they are created relationally and we cannot understand difference apart from this relational construction.

Gendering is not a simple or single process but highly complex, involving both psychological events and socialisation, starting almost at birth.

Attempting to develop a theory of gender practices which relies on notions of gender identity and of gender relations, indicates that both individual motivation and structural coercion are important factors in analysis. Young's approach assumes that gender identity provides constraints and opportunities, as do gender relations. It then becomes necessary to analyse how wider social, political and economic factors intersect with and dynamise them, provoking in some instances structural rather than individual responses to produce relational configurations which may be reinforcements of old forms or may be quite new ones.

Another important aspect and a basic premise of feminism is that the relation between men and women is essentially a power relation in which women have less power than men. Power is a slippery concept - here it is used as the ability to constrain the choices of, to restrict the options of - and as such, the statement that women have less power than men means that men have the ability to shape women's lives and to oblige women to adapt their lives. This does not mean to say that women are powerless, nor that women are necessarily victims. Power relations are usually discussed in terms of patriarchy conceived of as the coercive power of men to command women's bodies, labour and the fruits of their labour. The literature is not always clear on the basis of this power and whether it inheres in men as individuals or in the social structure itself.

The concept of the social relations of gender does not escape this tension between structure and individual agency. It is evident empirically that individual men do exercise power over individual women who in turn resist such coercion to a greater or lesser extent. Analysis at this level centres on the sources of the coercive power of individual men and resistance power of women. Such an approach has the merit of revealing the forms of women's power and avoiding the pitfalls of overstressing the ability of all men to coerce all women or indeed over other men. In asking where men derive their power rather than assuming that it is an inherent characteristic, our attention is directed both to the wider social and political realms. However, particularly in complex, modern industrial societies such categorical relations are

fragmented by other hierarchies, notably those of race and class.

Young argues that any analysis of social processes has to take into account the differences between men and women, and their responses to change. It has been argued that we have to develop an analysis that allows us to understand gender as a social relationship as well as a lived reality. Lived in two senses, in that it involves us actively in shaping our lives and those of people around us but according to a system of understandings which gives our lives meaning, and in hearing the disadvantages (or enjoying the advantages) that the system of gender relations allots. It is a compelling system but not one that is impermeable to change.

In summary, any educational strategy which was to challenge gender subordination would need to appreciate:

* that gender construction is highly complex involving psychological events and socialisation from birth

* that the interlocking of gender subordination with race and class relations is a complex and crucial issue

* that relations between men and amen are not randomly structured but underpinned by economic and political arrangements as well as ideology

* that men have power over women, but not all men and women use or respond to this power in the same ways that while the patriarchal system is very powerful it is not impermeable to changed.

What strategies have been developed to challenge gender subordination?

Over the last thirty years there have been many varied strategies through the women's movements all over the world to challenge the condition and position of women. In the last twenty years, or so, there has been growing acknowledgment by international agencies of the central role of women in development. From 1975 to 1985 there was a United Nations Decade for Women as part of a strategy to highlight the subordinated position of women globally, but as Sen and Crown conclude:(6)

> The almost uniform conclusions of the International Women's Decade research is that with a few exceptions, women's relative access to economic resources, incomes, and employment has worsened, their burdens of work have increased, and their relative and even absolute health, nutritional, and educational status has declined.

How is this possible, in view of all the information, publicity, and pressure surrounding women and development in the last number of years?

In the literature there are numerous accounts of the various approaches to women's development that have been used in the last decades. Caroline

Moser(7) describes the welfare approach, the equity approach, the ant-poverty approach to low income women, the efficiency approach, and the empowerment approach. Most of the approaches have not been tackling the fundamental problems that women have.

Young(8) provides theoretical 'tools' for analysing these approaches. She argues that is useful to adopt the distinction between the 'condition' and the 'position' of women. By **condition** is meant the material state in which women find themselves their poverty, lack of education and training, their excessive work burdens, their lack of access to modern technology, work-related skills etc. By **position** is meant women's social and economic standing relative to men.

The condition of women is the subject of much of the development literature on women and a major part of development concerns centre on finding ways of improving women's condition by targeting ameliorative resources to them rather than by radically changing underlying structures. The emphasis on women's condition has had two consequences. Firstly, there has been a tendency to emphasise women's practical and day-to-day needs - giving greater access to credit, special training schemes etc. Secondly, the approach makes it difficult for structural issues concerning women's position to be raised. It inhibits posing the question of whether women's condition is related to their structural position, and/or whether any serious and sustainable improvement in their condition is possible without structural change. As a result while women's needs as mothers, producers etc. are highlighted, their interests as women are not.

When talking about women and development it is important to be clear about aims - are we concerned with women's condition or their position? We also need to be clear about our assumptions about women's position. For example, is class oppression more onerous than gender oppression or does class exploitation embody gender oppression? Is it more important to eradicate gender subordination in the family; ie, 'private' sphere, or in places of employment etc; ie, the 'public' sphere? What are the relations between the two? Our assumptions on these issues will inform our policy and strategy.

In other words when discussing women's needs we should be clear as to what and where these should be directed. Maxine Molyneux(9) identifies two forms of women's needs, which are similar to Young's 'condition' and 'position'. She differentiates between the needs of women as occupiers of particular social roles, predetermined and sustained by custom, practice and ideology, and the interests of women as a social category with unequal access to socially valued resources (both economic and social) and political power. As a result she differentiates between practical and strategic interests. Young develops this and refers to **practical needs** and **strategic interests**.

Examples of practical gender needs derive from the necessity of fulfilling particular roles allocated to them by the division of labour; eg, care of children, maintenance of the house, care of the elderly, servicing of family and community. Most women in the 'south' have many urgent practical needs. However, the practical needs of women within the same class can vary,

for example, in relation to age.

Strategic gender interests arise from women's growing recognition that the age-old structures of male dominance and privilege are not sacrosanct, but social impositions and as such amenable to change. This recognition has been impelled in many countries by changes in the traditional economic and political system. It has also been enhanced by pressures exerted by international agencies on national governments and the growth of an international women's movement which has changed and enlivened the discourse about women's position in society. As Molyneux(10) says:

> Strategic interests are derived in the first instance deductively, ie from the analysis of Women's subordination and from the formulation of an alternative, more satisfactory set of arrangements to those which exist. These ethical and theoretical criteria assist in the formulation of strategic objectives of overcoming women's subordination, such as the abolition of the sexual division of labour, the alleviation of the burden of (domestic labour and childcare, the removal of institutionalised forms of discrimination, the establishment of political equality, freedom of choice over childbearing and the adoption of adequate measures against male violence and control over women.

In other words women's strategic interests come into focus when women's position in society is called into question. Any critical analysis of the way in which relations between men and women are organised involves making ethical and moral judgements about such social arrangements, the nature of equity and social justice. Almost by definition such an analysis will be shaped by an alternative vision of what such relations could be and their placement within wider political and economic relations. This poses the problem that all reformers and revolutionaries have found, of constructing a vision of the future which satisfies the majority of potential supporters. In the case of gender relations, given the great variability in forms of subordination and their cultural and ideological elaborations, reaching a common and universal vision requires a long term process of consciousness raising, discussion and vision-building.

The approach to the development of women which is concerned centrally with the position of women and her strategic interests is the 'empowerment approach'. This approach has its origins more in the emergent feminist writings and grassroot organization experience of women in the 'south'. It recognises that feminism is not simply a recent western urban middle-class import. Since 'the late nineteenth century Third World feminism has been an important force for change, but with women's participation more often in nationalist and patriotic struggles, working class agitation and peasant rebellions than in the formation of autonomous women's organisations. Although the empowerment approach acknowledges inequalities between men and women, and the origins of women's subordination in the family, it also emphasises the fact that women experience oppression differently according to their race, class, colonial history and current position in the

international economic order. It therefore maintains that women have to challenge oppressive structures and situations simultaneously at different levels.

One succinct articulation of the empowerment approach has been made by the Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), a loose formation of individual women and women's groups set up to analyse the conditions of the world's women and also to formulate a vision of an alternative future society.(11)

The new era envisaged by DAWN requires transformation of the structures of subordination changes, in law, civil codes, system of property rights, control over women's bodies, labour codes, and social and legal institutions that underwrite male control and privileges, are essential if women are to attain justice in the society. In the empowerment approach there is recognition of the limitations of top-down government legislation to actually, rather than potentially, meet strategic gender interests. Therefore adherents of the empowerment approach will not implement their strategies without the sustained and systematic efforts by women's organisations and like minded groups. Important points of leverage identified to be used by such organisations are not only legal changes but also political mobilisation, consciousness raising and popular education. They see the importance of using practical gender needs as the basis on which to build a secure support base, and a means through which more strategic interests may be reached.

The potentially challenging nature of the empowerment approach has meant that it remains largely unsupported and underfunded either by national governments or bilateral aid agencies. The empowerment approach utilises multiple strategies to bring about change - it aims to alter structures, behaviour and ideology. Popular education is recognised as an essential part of the approach. The empowerment approach has developed as a critique of the other approaches to gender and development which have had little impact on women's strategic interests in the last thirty years.

In summary, transformative educational strategies which challenge gender subordination would need to acknowledge the following:

* that strategies to transform gender relations need to be concerned ultimately with changing women's **position** in the family, at places of work and in society generally;

* that women's strategic interests must be addressed;

* that strategic interests are derived through an analysis of gender subordination and the formulation of a vision of alternative gender relations;

* that women experience oppression differently according to their race, class, religion, age and colonial history and that oppressive structures and situations have to be challenged simultaneously at different levels that transformation of structures of subordination is essential but there

are limits to the ability of governments to meet strategic gender interests. These strategies will not be implemented without sustained and systematic efforts by women's and other groups;

* successful strategies need to include not only legal changes but popular education, mobilisation, organisation and consciousness raising;

* that structures, behaviour and ideology need to change.

Popular Education

Popular Education is mentioned above as being one of the important components in a comprehensive strategy to challenge gender subordination. It has to work together with other strategies which are to change the structural position of women. In this section I will describe what popular education is and what its origins are. In the final section I will explore what the main challenges seem to be for popular education as a strategy to challenge gender subordination in South Africa.

Popular education is being used here to refer to radical adult or community education processes or strategies that are concerned with fundamental social transformation. Popular education is a term that has its origins in Latin America and its roots in the work of the Brazilian adult educator, Paulo Freire.

Judith Marshall(12) briefly summarise the essence of popular education as follows:

> Popular education ... is a pedagogy that takes as its starting point a commitment to the grassroots sectors and the need for an approach to education that works effectively for the needs and aspirations of the poor and marginal. It supports both the organisational needs of grassroots movements and their search for identity, insisting on their right to name themselves, and define their own forms of struggle, rather than accepting the categorizations and space for action defined for them from above.
>
> 'Popular education' is a form of critical pedagogy that accompanies a process of self-discovery, when people discover their own capacity to challenge collectively the forces that oppress them, and to transform their own reality, starting from their own interests and constructing their own alternatives.

Popular education is therefore an educational process which aims to help bring about greater equality and social justice through the raising of consciousness, the strengthening of new attitudes and behaviours, and the promotion of collective action to change situations of subordination. The methodology is rooted in the experience and the participation of the learners.

Popular education developed in the 1970s in Latin America where there was growing disillusionment with consciousness raising as an adequate method to

bring about social transformation. It was argued that there was a lack of connection to transforming social structures. Popular education developed as an extension of consciousness raising which combined this with group organisation for political and economic change.(13) It was strongly influenced by Gramscian thought which emphasises participatory and democratic practices within organisations and society as a whole so as to shift to a more egalitarian and non-exploitative social order.(14)

Popular education has been linked to the new left in Latin America who argue for the importance of a strong civil society as an essential part of a democratic state. One of the objectives of popular education is thus to help to build a network of grassroots, democratic organisations of the popular sectors which contribute to the strengthening of civil society in Latin America.(15)

Popular education, in summary, is concerned with developing critical consciousness amongst the marginalised groups, with strengthening behaviours and attitudes which lead to more confident and assertive practices, and to formulating strategies to contribute to the changing of their marginalised position. The methodologies that are often used to achieve the above include:(16)

* starting with the concrete experience of the learner in order to deepen critical awareness and understandings;

* high levels of participation which involve using the intellect, the emotions and practical activity;

* collective investigation which leads to the creation of new knowledge and understandings;

* developing theoretical analyses from experience, from history and known bodies of knowledge;

* formulating action plans and enacting them;

* reflecting on what has been done and using this to further elaborate theory and practice.

In Latin America a critique of popular education has been developed by those who found that increasing numbers of women were joining the social movements but were being subordinated to men in the organisations just as they were in the domestic sphere. Within the popular movements in Latin America it has still been widely held that organising around women's issues sidetracks and undermines the fundamental struggle of the people. Popular education failed to recognise the gender contradictions both theoretically and methodologically. Popular education by broadly targeting 'the oppressed and exploited' did not address the specificity of women's oppression.

In response to this critique an approach has developed which combines popular education with a feminist analysis. This emphasises the need for the popular educator to take sides - to take the standpoint of women. As

described by Gabriela Pischedda in Chile:(17)

> Both popular education and feminism stress the 'importance of reclaiming the value of women's lives, starting from the basic experiences of domestic work, women's rights to control their own sexuality, and their integration into the world of paid work. Such a stance, which recognises that work with women requires that their lives be understood in terms of gender as well as class, poses a major challenge to formulate an educational approach that reclaims and emphasises the lived experiences of women as women, in order to determine how these experiences may be projected into the larger arena of social action.

Popular education, they argue, must be designed from a feminist perspective. They also acknowledge the difficulties of their work with women. They say:

> To be a women and a person at the same time is new: we do not have models ... It is an important lesson that teaches us to approach our work with patience and humility.

There are growing numbers of feminist popular educators who are working in Latin America, and elsewhere, to find appropriate theoretical and methodological approaches to popular education that can challenge gender subordination. The GPE Workshops are located within these educational innovations and, while firmly rooted within the South African experience, aim to build on the experiences of Latin American feminist educators, as well as others(18).

In the last section, in an attempt to synthesize the discussion the main challenges for gender-sensitive popular educators are highlighted.

Popular Education - what are appropriate strategies to challenge gender subordination?

Popular education takes as its starting point a commitment to an approach to education that works effectively with the needs and aspirations of the marginalised people in society. It is a form of critical pedagogy that 'accompanies a process of self-discovery' where people discover their own capacities to analyse, challenge and transform their own reality. Given the complexities of gender subordination as elaborated above, what contribution can popular education make?

For at least the last two decades members of the international women's movement have been struggling to find ways of successfully challenging gender subordination. Many reasons have been put forward as to why there hasn't been the success hoped for. Young(19) suggests that no widespread unity of purpose has developed amongst women because of ideological barriers, lack of self-esteem, high levels of passive acceptance and resignation. But she argues, these are probably of less importance that the perceived lack of acceptable alternatives which do not entail intolerably high costs. In other words, while women may suffer a common history of oppression and

subordination, this experience is mediated by other experiences which may lead many of them to conclude either that they cannot change their situation or that attempting to do so will only worsen their present position which they have at least learned to cope with. Thus their lived experience of oppression is not translated into any action to change their situation or even to support others wishing to do so. It may even lead to certain categories of women supporting the structures and institutions of male domination..

The situation in South Africa is at a stage where one of the first steps needs to be the creation of a climate of opinion which allows discussion at national level of the negative effects of the subordination of women. In addition discussion needs to begin on possible alternatives. The argument needs to gain acceptance that women's emancipation is in the public interest. Most women do not recognise, their gender interests, or regard them as primary. Most women's experiences give rise to group focused loyalties, which repress or underplay gender oppression.(20) There are often not alternatives given to their present reality. In order to change this popular education could be used alongside other strategies as a vehicle for creating a greater social awareness of the issues.

In specific terms, in order to respond to the realities of gender subordination popular educational strategies would need:

1. To unambiguously take the standpoint of women;

2. To demonstrate to women and men how gender is constructed socially, that gender relations are not sacrosanct and they can be changed. This could involve showing through the lived experience of the participants how women and men are gendered through class, race, religion, culture etc.;

3. To investigate collectively the specificities of how class, race and gender intersect at particular moments, in particular ways, for particular people, in particular localities, in order to deepen collective understandings about these relationships and through this create new knowledge;

4. To build collective and alternative visions for gender relations with women and men. The negative consequences of the current situation for men and women needs to be emphasised(21);

5. To deepen collective analysis of the context and the position of women in it, locally, nationally, regionally and globally, in order to formulate particular strategies in order to effect change;

6. To develop analytical tools which participants can use to evaluate the effects of certain development strategies for the promotion of women's strategic interests. For example, sets of questions can be posed of projects like, who controls resources, makes decisions, performs particular productive and reproductive tasks etc.?(22)

7. To assist participants strategies in order to bring about change in their personal and organisational lives in the most effective ways;

8. To help, women develop the skills to assert themselves confidently and to challenge oppressive behaviour;

9. To build a network of women and men nationally, who connect into international networks and who are committed to developing the theory and practice of gender-sensitive popular education;

10. To help build democratic community and worker organisations and a strong civil society which can pressurise for change.

In conclusion

This article has set out to elaborate the theoretical underpinnings of the GPE Workshops which have begun to formulate feminist popular educational strategies which are rooted in South African conditions and experience. The theorisation is preliminary and needs further development through debate, discussion and reflection on practice. The educational strategies are being developed continually and will be described in a Handbook which is in the process of production. A national network of popular educators is starting to form who can continue to develop and share experiences and methodologies. They are linking up with others internationally.(23) A space has opened up within South Africa and as one of the women said at the GPE workshops: "Popular education is about empowerment which is an essential component in challenging gender relations. But to succeed popular education must take the women's standpoint. It cannot be neutral. Now is the time for us to organise!"

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1. A series of two workshops were run by the Centre for Adult and Continuing Education (CACE) at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa, in October and December 1990. The aim of the workshops was to 'develop educational tools for gender analysis within community and worker organisations'. The workshops were seen as part of an ongoing action research process which would develop relevant theory and practice with and for popular educators.

   The first of the workshops was facilitated by an experienced feminist popular educator from Canada. Joan Conway had worked in various parts of the Caribbean, West and Southern Africa, and Canada. She brought with her rich experience and great insight and skill which we valued immensely. Tragically, Joan died just one week after returning home from Cape Town. Her work will live on through those of us who were privileged to work with her. I dedicate this article to her memory.

   The workshops were attended by 39 women from various parts of

South Africa. The participants are working as educators in various sectors; ie, within nonformal education organisations, political organisations, church-linked organisations, sports bodies, cultural organisations, trade unions, youth organisations, women's organisations, universities and health projects. They ranged in age from about 24 to 60 years old. The majority came from the Western Cape with others from the East London, Durban, Johannesburg, Soweto, Pretoria, and Pietersburg. They were black and white and from rural and urban areas. They ranged in educational qualifications from nine years of schooling to post-graduate degrees.

One of the outcomes of the workshops will be a Handbook which wall describe the educational activities in detail. (Anyone interested to receive further information concerning this forthcoming publication should contact the author.)

2. One of the significant conferences organised by the African National Congress in exile was held in Holland in January 1990. Several papers were delivered which argued for the importance of gender struggles as part of national liberation struggles.

3. The NAC held a workshop in November 1990 which focused on 'Gender and the Constitution'. Several example's of the inferior position of women in the organisation were mentioned and strategies to improve the situation raised. In the South African Labour Bulletin Volume 14 Number 4 the difficulties of taking up women's issues in the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) have been described.

4. Extensive use is made in this section of Kate Young's paper "Towards a theory of the social relations of gender" April, 1988.

5. Chodorow 1979 p.53 quoted in Young

6. Sen Gita and Caren Crown 1987 **Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions. Third World Women's Perspective** Monthly Review Press, p.28

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8. These arguments are developed in Young Kate **1988 Women and Economic Development, Local, Regional and National Planning Strategies**, Oxford, Berg/UNESCO; Young Kate "World in

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10. ibid

11. op cit reference number 6, P.73

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13. La Belle Thomas J. 1986 **Nonformal Education in Latin America and the Caribbean. Stability, Reform or Revolution?** USA, Praeger

14. These arguments are developed in Shirley Walters 1989 **Education for Democratic Participation**, CACE Thesis Series, UWC

15. These arguments have been elaborated in **Development Dialogue** 1989: which focuses on "Human Scale Development". The ideas have been developed further by amongst others Dr Franscisco Vio Grossi of El Canelo, Chile. Other references to these arguments are made in my paper "Nonformal Education Organisations and the South African State: Present and future relations" presented to the HSRC Literacy Conference in September 1990

16. These are elaborated in workbooks such as Bev Burke and Rick Arnold's 1985 **New Weave**, Toronto, OISE/CUSO, and CACE 1990 **Light on Learning,** CACE, UWC

17. Pischedda Gabriela and Cristina Larrain "Utopia and reality in a woman's program" in 1988 **Growing Together: Women, Feminism and Popular Education** ISIS, Italy.

18. For examples of the innovative work see various recent issues of **Voices Rising**, the journal of the Women's Program of the International Council for Adult Education based in Toronto, Canada. The work at CACE is structurally linked to the work of the Women's Program through a collaborative 'International Research Project on Gender and Popular Education. This is described in the most recent **Voices Rising**, December 1990. (Please contact the author for more information on this if required.)

19. op cit

20. See for example the study described in **IBR 1990 Black Woman Worker. A Study of Patriarchy and Women Production Workers in South Africa**, Madiba Publications, Natal.

21. Cebarotev, in Cebarotev Nora "Women's action in the Third World: is popular education enough?" in **Worldscape Development Education** Vol.2 No.1 Spring 1988. University of Guelp, Canada, argues that the most crucial role for popular education is the re-education of the family where men, women, adults and children are drawn into a process whereby they see the collective advantage of the elimination of gender subordination. They can collectively build an alternative vision. (She says there is an experiment in Colombia along these lines.)

22. See for example, Longwe Sara Hlupekile "Criteria for analysing a project's contribution towards women's development" May 1990 and Longwe Sara "An example of the gender analysis of a development project" May 1990

23. See note number 18

LITERACY AMONG WOMEN IN INDIA

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Status of Women

For ages women in India have been subjected to varying degrees of social discrimination and economic exploitation. The most common form of disparity is that the female is confined to the traditionally ascribed roles within the four walls of the house. She is subjected to prejudices in an orthodox milieu and has to be content with a secondary place in society. Exploitation of women is not limited to home or family only but extends also beyond these confines.

Right from birth she has to fight for survival. High rate of female infant mortality is an example of this. Rate of female infant mortality is higher than that of males.

Table No 1

	Infant Mortality Rate	Number of deaths per 1000 persons
Year	Male	Female
1972	132	148
1980	113	115

Source: Seventh Five Year Plan, 1985, p.324.

According to UNICEF report the high rate of female mortality is mainly due to social discrimination and the neglect of females in the matter of health care.

Although health facilities have been increased extensively since independence, the maternal mortality rate continues to be high. It is as high as 418 per 100 000 live births. The major reasons of maternal mortality are handling of deliveries by untrained dais, frequent births, anaemia and malnutrition.

It is estimated that on an average a rural woman gets pregnant about six to

eight times in her life and spends about 15 years in pregnancies and lactation. In India women on an average give birth to more than six children of whom about four survive.

Despite the legislative provision banning child marriage, it is quite common in rural areas. In a few states it is more than 10 per cent. But in states like Kerala and Tamil Nadu, where literacy rates are high, child marriage has become a thing of the past.

Child marriage leads to high rate of infant and maternal mortality, infant and child morbidity and young widowhood.

In addition to these, women face many other problems like:

1. Low self image, low self respect and low social status;
2. Lack of equal rights between men and women;
3. Lack of information about protective laws and legal rights of women;
4. Dependency on male members of the family, like father, husband or son etc., for support and protection.
5. Lack of knowledge and skills to get good jobs;
6. Social and cultural restriction imposed upon them;
7. Over-burdened with household chores;
8. Lack of knowledge and opportunity for family planning to improve their lives;
9. Lack of access to information and communication to improve their lives;
10. Lack of opportunity to learn more in and out of schools;
11. Poor health and poor sanitation;
12. Illiteracy and low education.

Literacy may serve as an effective instrument of social change for equality of women. Through literacy women become aware of their social and legal rights, learn and improve income generating skills, acquire a voice in the affairs of the family and community and move towards equal participation in the processes of development and social change.

That is why in the postindependence era provision of educational opportunities to women has become an important programme in the educational sector. Between 1951 and 1981 the percentage of literacy among women improved from 7.93 per cent to 24.82 per cent.

Literacy Rates by Sex for India* From 1901 to 1981

	Literacy Rates (%)		
Year	Persons	Males	Females
1901	5.35	9.83	0.60
1911	5.92	10.56	1.05
1921	7.16	12.21	1.81
1931	9.50	15.59	2.93
1941	16.10	24.90	7.30
1951	16.67	25.95	7.93
1961	24.02	34.44	12.95
1971	29.45	39.45	18.69
1981	36.23	46.89	24.82

* Literacy rate for 1951 excludes Assam.

Source: NLM 1988 Page No 7.

However, the female literacy rate continues to lag behind the male literacy rate. The number of illiterate women has increased from 158.7 million to 241.7 million. Seventy per cent of the non-enrolled children of school age are girls.

In 1981 more than 75 per cent of the women in the country were illiterate. This is compounded by the high drop out rate for girls which is estimated to be 55.5 per cent at the primary stage and 77.7 per cent at the middle school stage. There are also disparities in the enrolment of girls and boys at the University stage and in technical and professional colleges.

Low female literacy rate is perhaps not peculiar to India. In most countries of the world, with the possible exception of USSR, the rate of women's enrolment at various levels of education is considerably lower than that of men.

Reasons for Wide Spread Illiteracy Among Women

There are a number of factors adversely affecting women in taking advantage of educational opportunities. Some of them are:

. General indifference towards education of girls;

. Social resistance arising out of fear and misconception that education might alienate girls from traditional and social values and lead them to maladjustment and conflicts;

. Giving girls away in marriage at an early age, leading to early motherhood;

- Social inhibitions about continuing education after marriage;
- Large family size, absence of leisure, freedom and relaxation;
- Prevalance of child labour among girls belonging to poorer sections. Even in middle class families girls are forced to help in domestic chores at a tender age;
- Social attitude emphasising the main job of women is to serve husband and bear and bring up children;
- Even now there are antiquated customs and traditions in many parts of the country under which girls are given away as devdasis and are made to waste their life as dancing girls in temples;
- Inappropriate values and perceptions on the parts of both policy formulators and functionaries at various levels;
- Discrimination practiced by employees against women both in organised and unorganised sectors in matters of recruitment, emoluments and promotion;
- Education of sons is often regarded as a better investment by parents, since sons look after parents in their old age while daughters are 'given away' in marriage;
- Few males look upon women's education as a potential threat to their dominant position;
- In some villages there are no school facilities for girls and parents do not want to send girls to far off villages for education.

Literacy Among Muslim Women

Since independence Muslim education in general and Muslim women's education in particular has been lagging behind as compared to other communities. Some of the observations made in this regard are:

1. Muslims generally feel that they are not treated equally in educational, political, social and economic matters and as a consequence their status is deteriorating considerably in all walks of life. Mostly, discrimination has been reported in the area of employment and school admission. The implication is that fear and suspicions - either real or imaginary, adversely affect the educational attainment of the minority community in general, particularly Muslim women.

2. Muslim girls from relatively affluent homes and enlightened backgrounds blend well into the social mainstream, without inhibition or any limitations. More and more career girls are freely entering professions with prior training and preplanning. The implication is that, over the years, the upper class Muslims have also liberalised their attitudes.

3. Religious education among Muslims is highly valued. Muslim women are seldom illiterate in a strict sense as they are required to be able to read their religious scriptures. Most of the girls receive education in 'madrasas' or religion oriented schools. Some girls learn from 'Ustanis' as well.

4. Though education is given due weightage in Islam only limited female education is supported by the majority, which also aims to preserve the religious identity. They accept limited female education as a compromise with the changing times. Girls generally are not allowed to go to school after reaching puberty. In addition to this any further exposure to the outside world and chances for self determination are severely restricted. In most cases girls are forced to terminate their education at the primary level. Hence only a small percentage of women receive higher education.

5. There is general resistance against English and modern education even in Government aided 'Madrasas' which according to them sow the seeds of irreligiosity. This is common among 'Tablighs'. This hampers integration and fosters social distance.

6. In 'madrasas' formally trained teachers are few and classes are conducted on a mass 'assembly line' system. The approach to teaching is nonprofessional.

7. There is a dearth of Urdu knowing Science and Mathematics lady teachers. Recruitment of teachers from other communities is not possible due to the language barrier and male teachers are not accepted by parents and managements in most of the cases.

8. Books in Science and other subjects are not easily available in Urdu language causing great problems to students. Although they are taught in Urdu language, they fail to do well in examinations resulting in poor performance due to lack of books in Urdu.

9. Religion oriented schools which are exclusively for Muslim girls show lower academic achievement as the girls have little scope of knowing their counterparts in other communities, leading to a total lack of competition with students of other communities at the school stage.

10. In case of 'Ustanis' religious teaching was undertaken as an act of 'Sawaab', with no monetory compensation. But, now it is an opportunity for earning an income and a means of obtaining low cost domestic help. The Ustani's right to free labour and personal care have also become accepted norms. The result is that instead of getting proper religious education, the girls waste their time and energy as domestic servants at the 'Ustanis' place.

11. Many families think that attending school would be harmful to the future of their wards because they do not have any faith in the school system or teachers. Their reservations/objections are:

- Regular exposure to secular schooling may result in a drift from their religious faith;
- Regular schooling will spoil their character. They will become unchaste if they get freedom;
- Studying languages other than Urdu and other subjects like science would contaminate the minds of girls;
- On the way to school, girls may come across 'eve teasers';
- If some immoral incident occurs while going to school or inside the schools it will affect a girl's marriage opportunity. Hence people do not wish to send girls to school, away from their personal care;
- Girls provide domestic help to mothers. Mothers prefer this help at the cost of their daughters' education;
- Like other Indian communities Muslim women are viewed strictly in their traditional role. Their main job is to serve husband and family;
- People believe that women are not expected to use education for their livelihood. They think that educated girls become more demanding and self-reliant and female education may threaten the existing authority structure in the home.
- In many parts of the country communal tensions and divisive policies also had an undesirable effect on female education;
- The content and quality of education are important concerns. Government schools of the primary level suffer from inflexibility, lack of autonomy and centralised authority. Desired combination of subjects are not available in schools. Practical subjects such as home science, crafts and choice of language are also not available. Many schools do not have essential facilities like library, labs and play grounds etc. There are a few schools where these facilities exist but in many of them these facilities are non-functional due to one administrative problem or the other;
- Socio-economic conditions of the family are largely responsible for poor results and drop outs. Drop outs are higher at the end of primary stage (Class IV or V) and are highest at the end of class VIII.

Role of Government

The government of India is continuously trying to change the place of women in society. Many efforts have been made to improve the status of women. Our constitution forbids any kind of discrimination against women. They have been given equal rights of inheritance, job and wages etc. But much remains to be done in terms of concrete action.

Prevailing socio-economic situation and traditional beliefs and customs remain the main obstacle in implementing legislation. Hence, the status of women cannot improve till they realize their full identity and power in all spheres of life. For this they need greater access to knowledge and resources. They must possess the ability to plan their lives and have greater control over their destiny. They must free themselves from the shackles imposed on them by outdated customs, beliefs and practices.

Studies show that illiteracy among women constitutes one of the greatest

barriers to their development. Through literacy women become aware of their social status and with different means they may want to improve their condition.

Studies have also shown that literate mothers are much more likely to send their children to schools, take good care of their health and immunize them. In addition to these, literacy promotes knowledge and acceptance of a small family norm.

Keeping in view the importance of women's literacy and falling in line with National Program of Adult Education, the National Literacy Mission has been launched on May 5th, 1988 which lays special emphasis on women's literacy. Women's equality has been built into the document as one of the objectives in qualitative terms.

In addition to this, the National Policy on Education 1986, has given prime importance to women's education. Both in PS and AE Curriculum, learning material contents and activities will be changed to suit women's equality.

To secure women's participation in PS and AS, support services including early child care will be provided. Improvement will be made in the availability of drinking water, fodder and fuel at community level. The number of women teachers will be increased. All women teachers and instructors have to function as activists of women organisation.

For women, provision of vocational training, self employment and employment opportunities will be improved. The number of women will be increased in management systems.

The year 1990 was celebrated as the 'SAARC Year of the Girl Child'. As a result a large number of women's organisations and Voluntary Organisations are providing invaluable support to the Government's efforts. Though a large amount has been achieved in this direction, there is much that still needs to be done.

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SECOND CYCLE DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS AND THE ROLE OF ADULT EDUCATION A CASE STUDY OF SRI LANKA

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Introduction

Since independence in 1948 Sri Lanka has made many development efforts. These efforts particularly in education and health sectors are creditable. The quantitative expansion of formal education was promoted by every government. As a result the general literacy of the people has now reached the 90% level and is often cited by other third world nations and development agencies, as an illustrative case of success. Health facilities were made available to the public absolutely 'free of charge.' The infrastructure of education and health sectors is exemplary for a developing nation. The low infant mortality, increasing life expectancy, eradication of malaria, lowering of incidence of communicable disease, low growth rate (2.2%) in population are some of the success indicators of returns of the welfare state and development efforts.

In addition to the attempts made in the education and health sectors, many incentives and interventions were made to increase production in the agriculture sector. The per acre yield of rice cultivation steadily increased from 28 to 70 bushels over the forty five year post independence period. The table 1 presents some of these indicators and the degree of change that has taken place in this period. The infrastructure facilities too have substantially expanded. Road network, electrification, communication and other service sector amenities have significantly developed in this period. The per capita income has increased to $US375 over the last decade. The condition of housing has improved. The percentage of temporary roofs in housing has significantly decreased and only a very small percentage of houses have temporary roofs. Household assets too have substantially increased.

Despite all these developments malnutrition in children seems to have increased substantially. According to surveys over 50% of the children under five years of age are under-nourished. Approximately 12-15% suffer from acute malnutrition (World Bank, June 1990, PLAN International, 1990).

Apart from malnutrition social unrest too has increased. The ethnic conflicts have escalated. Terrorism is on the increase. Unemployment and under employment have increased. Social injustice is prevalent.

Table 1

The Post-Independence Development Indicators of Sri Lanka

Indicator	Sri Lanka 1945	Sri Lanka 1988	Developed World 1988	Developing World 1988
Literacy		86%		
Birth Rate	03.5%	02.4%	01.5%	03.1%
Death Rate	02.2%	00.6%	00.9%	01.0%
Maternal Mortality	01.6%	00.06%	-	-
Infant Mortality	14.0%	02.5%	01.5%	08.6%
Life Expectancy		70	73	60
Male		68		
Female		72		
Per Capita Income $US		375	10.700	640

Source: UNFPA/Population Reference Bureau, Inc. 1988

Sri Lanka is now faced with a new set of development issues resulting from the 'FIRST CYCLE' of development. The solutions to the 'FIRST CYCLE' problems would largely decide the 'SECOND CYCLE' issues of development in Sri Lanka.

Malnutrition in children and mothers, often seen in third world countries, is considered a sign of poverty and often attributed to low income. Efforts have been made to increase food production and the household income of the poor to eradicate poverty and its adjunct such as malnutrition. Development efforts to increase production have been successful and the per hectare yield of food crops has substantially increased. However, the state of poverty and its attributes such as malnutrition have not changed. Hence the eradication of poverty and malnutrition are receiving much attention in most of the third world countries and even in international development agencies (IFAD, 1990).

The purpose of this paper is to discuss some of the issues, particularly malnutrition, as a result of the first cycle of the socio-economic development and to highlight the new challenges facing adult education in the Second Cycle of Development in the light of available household data in recent times in Sri Lanka. The role of adult education is perceived here as a potential means of addressing the second cycle development related issues.

At the time of independence the socioeconomic issues in Sri Lanka were illiteracy, high rate of infant and maternal mortality, prevalence of malaria and other communicable diseases, short life expectancy etc. All these still remain actual issues of development in most of the third world countries. However, Sri Lanka has overcome these constraints of development and has recorded rather satisfactory achievement levels as seen in development

indicators. The present level of literacy, infant and maternal mortality, life expectancy, immunization are in par with developed nations.

Sri Lanka is now left with a new set of development issues. Malnutrition is one of them. The first cycle of development reduced the mortality rate of mothers and children. Consequently the survival rate of children and their number have increased in the total population. People are more literate and demand better quality of social and welfare services. Under employment and unemployment are rampant. These are the consequences of the First Cycle of Development. In the Second Cycle of Development these have become the challenges and the issues of development. The author believes that all third world countries would eventually face a similar situation after the First Cycle of Development. An attempt is made to illustrate the problems of malnutrition and their relation to other variables. Such an analysis may facilitate an understanding of the challenges facing adult education as a means of development in the Second Development Cycle.

Degree of Malnutrition in Sri Lanka

The Sri Lanka Demographic and Health Survey (SLDHS) reported the prevalence of under nutrition in children in the form of 'stunting' to be 27.5% in a sample of 4000 children of the age group 3-36 months. The same study cited the national average for wasting to be 12.9% The SLDHS survey shows a larger variation in the level of malnutrition in the five socio-economic regions of Sri Lanka. The Kandy and Badulla administrative districts (Socio-economic Region 05 included Kandy, Badulla, Nuwara Eliya and a part of the Kegalle administrative districts) recorded the highest rate of malnutrition of all 26 administrative districts). The malnutrition figures for Badulla, Nuwara Eliya and Kandy indicate 42.1% of 'stunting' among children (World Bank, 1990).

A previous survey of preschool children (1975-76) reported 49.4% of stunting in children in Badulla and 40.6% in Kandy in the same region. This shows that malnutrition among children has at least a fifteen year old history in Sri Lanka. However, until the last Presidential Election (1988), nothing much was heard about malnutrition among children in Sri Lanka.

In a recent preliminary inquiry by the International Fund for Agricultural Development Mission to Badulla, efforts were made to assess the degree of malnutrition by taking a sample of the available raw data (weight, height and age) collected by the Family Health Worker, made available to the mission by the Regional Director of Health Services (RDHS), Badulla. The data showed the prevalence of malnutrition to be 55.5% in one year old children and 6O.9% in children between the ages of two to five years, (IFAD, 199O).

Another recent household survey carried out by a nongovernmental organization working in Badulla and Kandy, the Plan International (a development agency) has recorded malnutrition among the children of the ages 1 to 60 months in Badulla to be 60.3% and Kandy 47.8%. It is noted that malnutrition among children under 12 months recorded only as 19% and 13% in the two respective districts at the end of weaning the rate went up to 60%

for 12 to 24 months old children.

Analysis of Possible Factors

a. Low Household Income

Malnutrition is perceived as a poverty related problem. Some of the factors that one would immediately ascribe is low household income. Malnutrition could be due to either not taking a sufficient quantity of food or consuming food of low caloric value. Both these causes are poverty related. Lack of food is an aspect of household food security. Therefore often low income and poverty of households are cited as the basic causes of malnutrition in children.

Data of household survey were further analyzed to find causes of malnutrition. Key variables relating to household income such as family income, land tenure, house tenure, sufficiency of food production at household level, sufficiency of animal products at household level were taken for a further analysis with a sample of 227 children of the age below 60 months. The chi-square statistical values are reported in Table 2 for each of these income related variables.

Table 2

Statistical Significance of Malnutrition and Income Related Variables.

Income Variable	Chi-square Value	DF	Level of Significance
Family Income	00.43	10	0.49 not significant
Land Tenure	05.12	6	0.53 not significant
House Tenure	05.89	6	0.43 not significant
Food Production	01.76	4	0.78 not significant
Animal products	01.26	4	0.87 not significant

It is noted that malnutrition in children does not depend on these income related variables. None of the variables even cone close to a significant level. Further examination of data in each income category revealed that malnutrition is found in the children of the homes with relatively better income and in the homes below the poverty line. This strengthens the argument that malnutrition in Sri Lanka is not directly linked with income related variables and it could be happening due to some other 'SECOND CYCLE DEVELOPMENT' variables which are likely the results of the 'FIRST CYCLE DEVELOPMENT' approaches.

b. Expenditure on Food

If it is not income it may be the expenditure on food that may cause malnutrition. The household expenditure related items were further examined. Table 3 presents the statistical information with respect to malnutrition and household expenditure.

Data in Table 3 reveal that none of the expenditure variables such as the per capita spending of the family on food, family expenditure on food, health and entertainment and the repayment of loans are significantly related to malnutrition. However, the reader should note that spending on repayment of loans and entertainment show probabilities 0.24 and 0.30 respectively indicating these two items of expenditure are somewhat related to malnutrition. If malnutrition is not caused by low household income or low expenditure on food and related variables, then what could it be?

Table 3

Statistical Dependency of Malnutrition and Some Household Expenditure Variables.

Expenditure Variable	Chi-square	DF	Level of Significance
Family Expenses on Food	9.78	16	0.88 not significant
Per Capita Spending on Food		3.78	4 0.44 not significant
Family Expenses on Health	1.18	2	0.55 not significant
Family Expenses on Repayment of Debts	2.38	2	0.30 not significant
Family Spending on Entertainment	2.85	2	0.24 not significant

c. Parents Education

The prevalence of malnutrition was also cross tabulated with the level of educational attainment (completed years of formal schooling) of parents. Table 4 presents statistical findings relating to this aspect. It should be noted that the formal education of the father shows no significance with malnutrition and mother's level of education is a significant or a near significant factor that correlates with malnutrition in children.

In the context of the food culture of Sri Lanka, mother is the key person who decides how much of food that the family could afford on a day, the type of diet, how it will be cooked, etc. In the typical rural culture the father has little to do in the preparation of food. Hence the mother's level of education remains an important factor that affects the nutritional status of children.

d. Family Size

In Table 4 data relating to malnutrition and family size are given. Family size was further taken on three variables. The number in the family, number of children under 12 years of age and the number of children under five years of age were examined. The number in the family (adults and children) do not show any significant dependence. The number of children under 12 years records a probability level of 0.27 and is in the direction of a possible relationship. The number of under 5 year children in the family was found to be significant at 0.03 level indicating that when a family has more than one

child of the age less than five years old, malnutrition was bound to occur. The data analysis refers to children below 5 years of age. This indicates that when a family has more than one child birth within a five year period it indicates the likelihood of having a malnourished child as the family increases.

Table 4

Statistical Significance of Malnutrition and Variables Relating to Family Size

Variable	Chi-square	DF	Level of significance
Level of Education:			
Father's Education	20.32	24	0.67 not significant
Mother's Education	34.59	24	0.07 near significant
Family Size:			
Number in Family	17.72	18	0.47 not significant
Number 12 years	12.28	10	0.27 not significant
Number 5 years	06.63	2	0.03 significant

The surveys have focused attention only on the traditional analytical variables and factors. The author wishes to discuss the issue of malnutrition in the light of another set of NON-TRADITIONAL VARIABLES resulting from the first cycle of development that has already taken place in Sri Lanka. Malnutrition appears to be a second cycle phenomenon and adult education with a development focus may be one of the important measures on combating malnutrition.

'First Cycle' vs 'Second Cycle'

In comparison with most of the other third world countries in Africa and Asia, Sri Lanka shows many of the socio-economic aspects that are remarkable. Illiteracy is very marginal in Sri Lanka. Eighty per cent literacy was achieved twenty years ago. Infant and maternal mortality was in par with the developed world rated for the last twenty years. The population growth rate is still declining. The life expectancy is 70 years and is on par with developed nations. Infrastructure facilities such as communication, road network show much progress. These were all achievement indicators due to development efforts after independence and the author prefers to call it, the First Cycle of Development.

Adult education in this setting directed at the TRADITIONAL VARIABLES such as literacy, immunization, potable water and health are rather inadequate to explain this phenomenon. In the light of possible adverse results of traditional development efforts a more sensitive approach could ultimately relieve the burdens of the neo literate and educated households. The attempt here is only to explore a number of such variables relating to malnutrition. The effects of these non traditional variables could be similar to some of the other second cycle development issues as well.

The achievements of first cycle and the consequential second order problems are now seen in Sri Lanka. Malnutrition is one such first degree and a high risk incidence which may be a consequence of the first cycle of development. For instance, when the health sector infrastructure facilities expanded in Sri Lanka, government hospitals, dispensaries, family health clinics were found within the reach of the many who never had access to such facilities before.

The family health worker ratio to population in Sri Lanka was the best ratio in the region (UNEPA, 1987). Public health services improved appreciably. Malaria was virtually eradicated. Immunization coverage was 90% against diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, polio and mumps. Ninety per cent of the births were taking place in hospitals. Adult literacy was the base for all these achievements. Every campaign and development effort was sustainable as people were receptive. This improvement in the health sector reduced infant mortality. But the children who are now living are undernourished. The first cycle of development achieved its goal of making more children survive. The second order problem of malnutrition has left a high risk issue to be addressed in the Second Development Cycle. If this is not addressed immediately, the achievements of the first cycle of development may also be lost. Sri Lanka today faces this problem with many other developing nations at the end of the first cycle of development in eradicating some of the natural health hazards, communicable diseases and first cycle health related issues.

Some Possible Explanations and the Role of Adult Education

The average family size of a household in Sri Lanka ranges from five to six members. Though the per capital annual income is $US 375 (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 1989), there are nearly 50% of the population under the welfare programmes, receiving free food stamps from the government. Unequal distribution of national income is an inherent characteristic of all market economies. One should note that the income distribution disparity in Sri Lanka is not as high as in many other third world nations. This is largely due to the welfare services found in Sri Lanka. The food stamp scheme, free health and education facilities and even subsidized essential food items, have partially narrowed down income disparities.

One could expect malnutrition to be a result of low household income. However, the statistical analysis does not support such an interpretation.

Malnutrition is not a feature of all income and expenditure variables. In a society where literacy is high one would not expect such a high rate of malnutrition. This author perceives it in a different context of social development. The possible interpretations of the phenomenon are discussed below.

a. Middle Class Mentality vs Household Food Security

Social class is not merely a socio-economic division. It is also a mental condition. One could be materially poor but he/she could behave with a higher class mentality. Sri Lanka has a significant middle class population. If one carefully examines the psychological attributes of the middle class

independent of their income and education levels, their white collar oriented education has given them a middle class mentality. What are the characteristics of this mentality?

The average middle class Sri Lankan as his/her counterparts elsewhere, competes with his neighbour and is over-concerned with appearances as in dress, etc., pretends to be able and affluent and pushes hard to educate their children. He/she strives hard to acquire material wealth (such as a house) and luxuries such as electronic gadgetry, modern furniture, etc, they are less than realistic in their aspirations. Most of these values were transmitted through the western type of education which initiated them to the 'white collar' culture fostered for over three centuries, and has remained the dream of the average 'educated' Sri Lankan. The middle class aspirations, which are pursued to obtain status symbols while repudiating traditional cultural beliefs and values, are an aspect of modernization and even the development ethos of the people.

The average middle class Sri Lankan has lost some of the old cultural values relating to household food security and diet in the last three decades. The traditional practice of the majority of the people in Sri Lanka was to preserve local food items such as bread, fruit, jak fruit, nuts, fruits and even meat items. Bread fruit in season is so cheap and often in the rural areas was not marketable. So was jak fruit. These were major supplementary food items. People used to dry and preserve these as well as various other types of leaves, nuts etc. These old traditions helped to preserve food without wasting. These were readily available in the household during times of food scarcity.

Even the staple rice was managed at the household level in a similar manner. The housewife sorted rice and the broken rice bits were collected separately as a daily practice and kept in a separate pot (traditional term *hunisahal*) to use in an emergency as supplementary food. From the rice taken for daily cooking, once again a housewife took a fistful of rice out and put it in another collection pot (traditional term *miti-hall*) to be used in times of scarcity. If cooked rice was in excess it was never wasted. That too was dried to prepare supplementary food. Many other thrifty ways of managing food were quite evident in the past.

Apart from the old cultural food habits buying food from a shop was considered an embarrassment in that culture. Every household nurtured a home garden as an aspect of the old culture. Much of the required vegetables, greens, spices and condiments were grown in the home garden. Besides the vegetables and greens had a link with the ancient ayurvedic medical system. Parents inculcated in their children the values of adhering to the old food culture.

However, in the middle class value system buying of food was more appreciated than growing as a status symbol. Growing is now considered a poor man's job, and a part of the poverty syndrome. Today 'buying' is a sign of prosperity. The middle class imitative society has accepted a commercial urban value system. Today the bread fruit is replaced by bread made from imported flour. The home garden yams, jak fruit, beans are left out of the

average menu. People with this kind of middle class mentality buy nutritionally inferior food items. Advertising by various manufacturers in the mass media, especially on television, is able to influence the middle class consumers by glorifying fast foods and processed food which remove the drudgery of cooking. Health and nutritional education has failed to combat these 'modernising' influences.

Modern education created the middle class mentality. Today literacy and education are expected to produce business profits and to convey warped messages. This middle class mentality has largely contributed to malnutrition in children. Adult education has an important role to play in redirecting the important literates towards development realities. An adult education should be strong enough to discern the good from the bad in commercial advertising.

b. New House Construction Effects

One of the middle class dreams is to live in a modern house. The government of Sri Lanka and particularly some of the artful politicians who correctly judged the middle class aspirations, used this mentality to launch a massive housing and shelter campaign in Sri Lanka. Middle class expectations in housing were facilitated with soft bank loans, grants, etc. One of the requirements to receive a grant or a loan was the client's contribution of a reasonable percentage of the cost. The NGOs and development agencies too supported the housing campaign extensively.

The majority of the houses constructed during the last decade had at least 50% contribution from the household (Marga, 1981). The middle class generally opted to build at least a three or four roomed house. The Marga Survey (1981) indicated the shift of people's aspirations from their first survey (1971) to three roomed housing units. This development is perhaps not found in any other third world country. One would be surprised to see the number of houses that Sri Lanka has built during the last ten years. These houses are certainly much larger for a family in that income category could afford.

The housing and shelter campaign in Sri Lanka is highly appreciated. At the same time this campaign in the context of the middle class aspirations has certainly added burdens to these households. The strain of building a house can be seen in the physical appearance of the father and the mother. The parents look ten years older than their actual age by the time the house construction is completed. The children too have undergone the pressure with the burden by receiving a poor diet.

All development campaigns do have unexpected side effects. This author finds that the families who either have just completed building or are struggling to complete construction of a house have a large number of malnourished children. All development agencies should take serious note of this situation particularly when the client's contribution is made a condition to receive grants and loans.

Adult education has a two way responsibility. One is to highlight such issues and side effects of development campaigns to the development agencies. The

other is to educate the adults by showing them the realities of development ambitions and operationalize affordable development at the level of each family.

c. Burden of Development and Modernization

In the development vs modernization dilemma, many consider modernization is development. To the average middle class person a better road, better illumination, better buildings, better communication, better transport and sophisticated technology constitute development. On the other hand one cannot deny these to a sector of the population while others are enjoying such modern amenities. However, the actual development priorities have to be sorted out. Personal family and community health, water, minimum housing, adequate diet and an affordable household food security system are primary needs for survival. Roads, schools, post offices, electricity, telephone are secondary needs that may be postponed. However, all development agencies are caught up in the dilemma of building roads, schools, bridges, community centres, housing, etc.

Most of the development work of this nature demands community participation and contribution. The social cost to households of such projects is rather high. Development requires people to seek membership in many types of organizations and societies in order to receive various types of benefits. The poorest of the poor gain less as they cannot afford to participate and contribute to such societies. It is quite common to find a credit society, village development society, village welfare society, parent-teachers society, etc. in almost every village in Sri Lanka. Most of these societies also demand small contributions. Most of the villages are also having other NGOs and Development Agencies working with them. Some villages may have three to four development agencies working to improve their quality of life.

These good intentions and sincere efforts of the agencies have now burdened the average villager by demanding much more than they could afford to contribute. The average middle class villager is eager to gain and acquire whatever is offered to him and seek membership. They have obtained loans from more than one source. Indebtedness is rampant to a degree that the household can hardly afford.

d. Food Culture and Food Habits

Other causes of malnutrition are food habits and the food culture. Most countries of the Eastern world have a strong food culture. In spite of the colonial influence the traditional food culture survived. However, in the light of scientific knowledge is nutrition, the cooking and eating habits in Sri Lanka could also be considered a cause of under nutrition. The typical Sri Lanka food is over cooked. The most vital vitamins are lost in the cooking. Food items such as tomatoes, lemon etc. are added to the boiling curry, and the vitamins are lost.

Many of the rural people still hesitate to rear chicken on religious grounds even though it is one of the best possible means of earning an extra income

besides providing nourishment to the children. As a result of these cultural habits either what is taken as food does not meet the minimum nutritional requirements or what is available is not used in the daily diet to provide nutritious meals.

e. Ignorance of the Parents

Today's parents find it difficult to spend sufficient time with their children. This is a problem not only in the urban sector with working parents but also in the rural sector.

A farmer in the third world starts the day at 5.00 am to walk to the rice fields. Meanwhile, the housewife attends to many of the requirements to facilitate her husband's activities in the field. The mother cannot afford the time to feed the children. Often the mother prepares some food and leaves the consumption of it to the children to feed themselves and rushes through other work to merely to earn a living for survival. There is an unseen gap between the food and the eating. Eating habits in children could be unsatisfactory. The ignorance of the parents in this important task of actual eating of the prepared food has caused many health problems, such as amoebaesis and diarrhoeal disease that makes the child lose weight and become undernourished. The parents struggle to earn to keep children alive. The same struggle causes them to neglect their children and make the child's life a risky one.

f. Low Birth Weight of Children

Thirty per cent of newborn children in Sri Lanka have a low weight. It is surprising to record such statistical data in a country where literacy is high and the facilities of the health sector are at a higher level. The maternal mortality is low but mothers too are malnourished and anaemic. The new middle class families are so much caught up with their middle class aspirations they seem to neglect their own health. Mothers by nature are always ready to sacrifice. Women are the backbone of development in Sri Lanka today. The mothers make efforts to build a house, educate children, accumulate assets, and live a middle class life.

These issues are often addressed in adult education with a special focus on maternal and child health care. Ignorance is often cited in all adult education literature as one of the major causes of many of the social ills. However, the success of such attempts is still in doubt.

g. Disproportionate Distribution of Income

It is often seen that the earnings of a household are not equitably distributed within the family. The father of the family in most of the Sri Lankan homes is the bread winner. He normally takes 50% of the earnings for his personal consumption. Cigarettes and alcohol are now regular items in their daily life. Both are expensive. The cheapest alcoholic liquor is the illicit brew. A bottle would cost at least ten rupees. Many of the males in the villages would spend that much daily. A cigarette is about Rs.2/-. When the earning is Rs.50/- a day working as a casual employee with an irregular employment the bill on

alcohol and cigarettes has become a burden.

The quality of life is not decided mainly by the per capita income of the nation or the goods and services produced, but depends on the ultimate spending of that income at the household level. The key issue of development is how could the family budget be so organized as to achieve a high quality of life, the ultimate goal of development.

The challenge is how could adult education approach these key issues at the household level to bring about a positive change in the adult parent to face his/her own behavioural dilemma.

DEVELOPMENT CREATED A DREAM IN THE MINDS OF THE PEOPLE BY PROVIDING THE WRONG TYPE OF WESTERN WHITE COLLAR EDUCATION AS THE MEANS OF ACHIEVING THE DREAMS. FAILURE IS INEVITABLE. FAMILIES STRUGGLE TO SURVIVE AND THE YOUTH REVOLT AGAINST THE SYSTEM. THIS HAPPENED IN SRI LANKA.

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RURAL NON-FORMAL EDUCATION IN CHINA

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Rural non-formal education in China, which is the education about politics, culture and technology offered to rural labourers, has developed over a long time. In 1950, with the approval of the State Council, the then Ministry of Education issued **The Indication about the Development of Part-time Education for Peasants** which points out that unfolding part-time education for Peasants, with plans for step by step raising of the cultural level of peasants are one of the important tasks of the country's cultural construction. In 1954, the Ministry of Education held the First Conference of National Part-time Cultural Education for Peasants, and with the approval of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, proposed the policy and task of peasants education which read that 'firmly following and closely relating agricultural movement of mutual and the cooperation and the development of agricultural production. It is necessary to actively eliminate the illiterate peasants and to gradually raise the cultural level of peasants, so as to serve effectively the culturally socialist transform and the development of agricultural production'.

In 1949, the majority of the rural population in China were illiterate. There were 165 million illiterates in the age group of 15 to 40. From 1950 to 1966, cultural education was the main content in rural non-formal education in China. According to the statistics, there were 5718 thousand persons who arrived at the graduate degree of part-time primary schools and 405 thousand persons who arrived at the graduate degree of part-time middle schools through learning in part-time schools during this period. During the time of turmoil from 1966 to 1976, rural non-formal education in China was destroyed as was general education.

The Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Community Party of China was held in 1975. Since then, and with the development of rural reform of the economic system, great changes have taken place in the rural economy in China, and the initiative of the masses of peasants for learning culture and technology has increased day by day. Faced with such a situation, the Chinese government and men of insight unanimously recognized that 80 per cent of the Chinese population are in the countryside and agriculture is the basis of the national economy. Under the special conditions of more population, less cultivated land and comparatively less resources per capita, the

fundamental way for completely changing the backward face of the countryside and speeding the course of agricultural modernization, lies in shifting rural construction on the progress of science and technology and improving the quality of labourers. But at present, rural education in China is not entirely suited to the new situation and has much corrupt practices, which are mainly reflected as follows: (a) Under the influence of the traditional educational ideas for a long time, the education structure in most rural areas is basically a single and traditional formal education, and the scale and degree of the development of non formal education are unable to 'adapt' to the needs. (b) The trend to unilaterally seek for the proposition of students entering schools of a higher grade of formal education is rather serious. Graduates are unwilling to stay on the countryside and build it, and rural formal education becomes that education for leaving the countryside by rural youth. (c) Rural schools copy indiscriminately models of city schools, breaking away from the needs of rural economy and society. Ninety five per cent of the graduates from secondary or primary schools who are unable to enter colleges or higher secondary specialized schools come back to the countryside. They are not mentally prepared to build the countryside, and are lacking in basic skills for production. The majority of peasants have no way to be rich without appropriate technique.

In order to change this situation the Chinese government makes every effort to promote the reform of rural education, especially that of rural adult education. In 1987, **Resolution about the Reform and Development of Adult Education** by the State Education Commission approved and transmitted by the State Council points out that rural adult education should, in the light of rural reality, raise different training demands according to different areas, 'trades and targets, so to be suited to the needs of changing rural economy to specialization, commodity economy and modernization and to the peasants' aspiration of being rich', which is clear about the developmental orientation of rural adult education and non-formal education.

At present, a new situation of vigorously developing the rural economy relying on science and technology and on education, has risen. From 1973 to 1989, graduates from part-time primary schools numbered 18.56 million those from part-time secondary schools were 2.12 million, and more than 150 million peasants, cadres at the basic level and staff and workers in village/town factories receive various forms of practical technical training. In 2826 units of the same level all over the country, county education training run by branches of education and agriculture and so on are 3600, with each county having 1.3 schools or centres, 69842 villages/towns having one such school. In more than 800 thousand administrative hamlets, there are more than 200 thousand hamlet cultural and technical schools for peasants. Those who take part in various types of practical and technical training every year total about 25 million persons. A large number of teachers and researchers in general schools at various levels, institutions of scientific research and other branches contribute their wisdom and creativeness to rural nonformal education. Only in 1989, more than 500 thousand persons of science and technology offered their technical services and other activities in the countryside.

In addition, rural cultural units and technical extension units at different levels also undertake the task of non - formal education. At present, every county or unit of the same level and village/town on the average in China has cultural centres and some hamlets have cultural houses. There are a lot of activity rooms, cinemas and theatres, books and newspapers and journals, and other facilities in those institutions, and some organizations of cultural activity such as full-time opera troupes, groups of folk art forms, acrobatic troupes, groups of universalization of sciences and physical or sports teams have been organized around the cultural centres. Training classes full of contents have been run and various propaganda columns have been opened. Those centres and some technical extension centres established in some villages/towns play a role in ideological education, spread of knowledge, training of technical key members and enriching of leisure time etc.

Since 1986, in order to promote agricultural production and the development of rural economy, the State Science Commission and Ministry of Agriculture have dispersed and implemented 'Spark Plan' and 'Harvest Plan' respectively. And in order to cooperate and promote the implementation of those plans, the State Education Commission has worked out and implemented 'Liaoyuan Plan' (Liaoyuan means a blazing prairie). The nature of 'Liaoyuan Plan' is to quickly extend through education and technology developed by 'Spark Plan' and the technology extended in the countryside by 'Harvest Plan' and through reform and development of rural education improve in a large way the quality of labourers, strengthen the capacity of rural basic units to receive and apply science and technology and increase the level of management of the rural production. There is a great deal of promoting/function of the implementation of 'Liaoyuan Plan' in the development of rural non-formal education.

The popularization and development of non-formal education have raised the quality of science and culture of rural labourers and strengthened the capacity of rural basic units to absorb and apply achievements in science and technology, thus playing an active part in vitalizing the rural economy and promoting the construction of material civilization and mental civilization. Take Hebei Province for example. In 1988-1989, 259 pace-setting villages 'Liaoyuan Plan' carried out the training of practical technology to 1.07 million person-times, and at the time, introduced 2131 item-times of new technology and new variety, obtaining economic benefits worth about 190 million Yuan. The Agricultural and Technical School in Yangni Town, Lathu City, Shandong Province, runs training classes for breeding chicken or pigs six times in one year, developed 850 families of chicken run with 400 thousand chicken, and the annual income was about 800 thousand Yuan. Net income from piggery in one year in Yangni Town may reach 550 thousand Yuen, which increased 45.1 per cent more than the year before. According to sample statistics of more than five hundred villages, after the training of practical technology in a big way in 1989, peasant income per capita increased from 616 Yuan in 1988 to 650 Yuan in 1989.

Since June 1990, the pilot project of the system of 'Green Certificate' laid down

by the Ministry of Agriculture with preference to foreign experience, has been launched in the whole country. The system, through legislation and administration etc. provides by demand, training, examination and awarding of certificates of technical qualifications for the employment of peasants, and the corresponding policies have been worked out as a rule of employment and training of rural labourers, so as to improve fundamentally the quality of science and culture to develop peasants and develop new type of peasants who have knowledge/management, mastered technology and are good at management and administration.

Population education has been gradually carried out in the countryside too. In December 1984, China and Organization of Population Fund jointly signed a project agreement, determining that a pilot project of population education be organized in' rural schools in Hunan Province from 1985 to 1989. Thirty four pilot schools trained 134 key teachers and principals specially, and trained 27712 other persons, having 32 thousand rural centres at grassroots levels where young peasants and women receive population education. The project agreement stipulates that in 1990-1994, 735 rural adult schools in 25 provinces and municipalities will carry out a project of rural population education, planning to train 13 thousand teachers and administrators of population, education and 1.5 million young peasants and women will receive population education.

At present, the structure of rural non-formal education in China basically is as follows:

As to the system of education, a system of running schools at three levels - cultural and technical training classes in hamlets - cultural and technical schools for peasants in villages/towns (educational training' centres for peasants in villages/towns - secondary technical schools for peasants in countries including rural broadcast and TV schools etc) has been established as to the training of different qualified personnel. Schools in county level mainly cultivate and train intermediate personnel; schools in village/town level mainly cultivate and train elementary personnel; and classes in hamlet level mainly pay attention to projects with quick results and popularize and extend practically agricultural technique and skills in a large way.

As to the forms of education, the principle in line with local conditions and with different individuals and of reality and flexibility is stressed. Firstly the organization of teaching should be linked with that of production so that one can jointly lead and administer production and learning. Secondly, centralized learning should be linked with divided learning. It is necessary, for those who find it difficult to come to class to study in groups. For example, home learning groups or neighbourhood learning groups are organized for those women who are busy with household duties. Thirdly, the form of part-time learning is adopted in general, with more learning in slack season, less learning in busy season and no learning in extremely busy times.

As to the content of teaching, it is necessary to adhere to the principle of taking

political and ideological education as the guidance, cultural education as the base and training of practical technology as the core, and insist on the orientation that teaching should directly and effectively serve the agricultural economic construction. Two types of teaching materials are used - one are materials compiled nationally and the other compiled in the locality.

Political education is mainly the education in current events and policies, including the education of our basic principles, democratic and legal education, agricultural policies, national policies and national unity, civil morality in society and population etc. It is also necessary to teach young peasants to love the countryside, dedicate to agriculture, build hometown and serve the people. Cultural education includes content of further education of post-literacy education and cultural education in primary and secondary schools. Technical education mainly means the training of practical technology in various forms, according to the practical needs of economic development in different places and on the aspects of planting, breeding, processing, transportation, building, services village/town factories and courtyard economy.

Funds for school running in rural non-formal education are collected through more channels, with the methods of 'financial grants by the government at different levels, self-collecting of the masses, work-study programme and tuition fee'.

The basic experiences rural nonformal education in China have obtained in its developmental course for 40 years are as follows:

1. China is vast in territory and uneven in its economic and cultural development, and some differences exist in the conditions of running schools. The levels of life and degree of culture of the masses are different and the requirements to raise the level of education are not the same. The unfolding, therefore, of rural nonformal education has to, according to reality, adhere to the principle in line with local conditions and of flexibility.

2. China is a big country and its economic basis is comparatively weak. Nonformal education is a gigantic project involving several hundred million peasants. It is unable to be run alone by the country, it is necessary to mobilize the society, depend on the masses and pay attention to arousing enthusiasm to run schools by various social forces.

3. Rural non-formal education and other types of education at different levels in the countryside should constitute an entirety. They, in the light of the overall planning and arrangements by the agency responsible for them, can develop harmoniously and link up and supplement each other. The suggestion of running basic education, technical and vocational education and adult education, at the level of county, with the direction of overall school management may been said to be a concrete reflection of the above idea.

4. The governments at different levels and other branches of agriculture, education and science and technology should strengthen the leadership, closely cooperate and link up each other, make overall planning and unified arrangement, and adopt a set of powerful measures, so as to support rural non-formal education.

5. Only if the development of non-formal education, and even that of the whole rural education are closely linked with the development of rural economy and construction of socialist mental civilization, and only with happiness, civilization and richness of the life of vast numbers of peasants, can nonformal education and all education be welcomed by peasants and supported by the society, and development be guaranteed to be successful.

Rural non-formal education in China as a whole is not advanced and is not suited to the needs. The following problems exist (a) The function and meaning of non-formal education to the economic development, social progress and construction of mental civilization have not been fully recognized by the parties concerned and even by the whole society. (b) Some branches and areas still use conventional methods and means of formal education in non-formal education, which is divorced from reality and learning is not linked with application. (c) Schools and institutions of formal education at different levels have no powerful means to support nonformal education and to offer help and service for its development. (d) Quality of education and of teachers is to be further improved. Basic facilities and conditions and teaching methods are backward. Teaching materials are in short supply and not suited to satisfy needs. (e) Funds are not sufficient. Because of the above problems and other reasons, more than 70 percent of agricultural science and technology achievements in China are unable to be extended and applied, to improve greatly the development of productivity and for obtaining greater economic benefits. In 1988, those who worked in village/town factories in China's countryside were 80 million and the output value is more than 500 million Yuan. Peasants, having got good results from new technology, are urgently in need of technology and want to increase further productivity so as to develop the rural economy and break away from poverty. In short, pressure on the development of rural nonformal education is high and motivation is also high. The task is both urgent and arduous.

In November 1989, the State Council issued **Resolution about Vitalizing Agriculture with the help of progress of Science and Technology and Strengthening the Extension work of Agricultural Science and Technology,** stressing that it is necessary to carry out widely technical training for rural adults, and take the cultural education and technical training to labourers as one important task and try best to make it effective. The Chinese government has taken steps to revitalize agriculture with the help of progress in science and technology as one important strategic measure. In order to implement the Resolution, branches of education and agriculture at various levels and other branches in China are making every effort to develop village/town or hamlet cultural and technical schools for peasants mainly, and take, as an important task

of rural adult education, to promote the implementation of rural nonformal education. The development planning proposed according to the reality in China is as follows: before 1992, cultural and technical schools for peasants will be generally established in villages/towns and hamlets. In the areas with better educational and economic bases, every village/town will run cultural and technical school(s) for peasants within one or two years, and at the same time, will gradually improve the conditions of school-management and raise benefits of school management, and popularize such schools to hamlets by 1995. In the areas with under-developed and economic bases, it is necessary to actively create conditions to run cultural and technical schools for peasants in villages/towns in line with local conditions and with so many forms, except for remote areas and pastoral areas with a low population. Such schools can be attached to general primary and secondary schools in villages/towns, to cultural centres, farms or centres of agricultural technical extension, so as to facilitate multiple functions of schools and farms etc. And it is necessary for villages/towns to actively create conditions to run schools independently as early as possible.

We believe that under the unanimous approval and common efforts of the government and the whole society and with the implementation of 'Liaoyuan Plan', 'Spark Plan' and the system of Green and the implementation of Resolution about Vitalizing Agriculture issued by the State Council, rural nonformal education in China will certainly develop greatly and play its proper role in the realization of the agricultural modernization in China and even the socialist modernization of the whole country.

THE ADULT BASIC EDUCATION SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN

Vincent A David
Director - Adult Basic Education Society of Pakistan

Organization

The ABES is a non-sectarian, non-profit organization under the sponsorship and supervision of a Board of Directors, who are all Pakistanis, working for the welfare of all the people in Pakistan without any discrimination of race, class, or creed. Besides the 25 permanent staff members, there are experienced and trained supervisors, and community development workers on contract basis. Teachers are selected from local areas and trained in the ABES methods. ABES is paying them just an honorarium during the teaching period; ie, six months. Local leaders are organized into committees, which eventually adopt the project's responsibilities entirely. Functional relationships are established with cooperating government and private departments, institutions and committees. Since 1972, the Director has been Mr Vincent A David, a Pakistani who has been working in the field of Adult Literacy for 28 years.

Aims and Objects

The goals of the ABES are outlined in its Constitution, designed for the welfare of all the people in Pakistan. Basically, the ABES:

- runs experimental literacy projects;
- trains local teachers, supervisors and administrative staff;
- publishes literacy and follow-up literature;
- produce teaching aids and audio-visual equipment;
- concentrates on post-literacy development;
- conduct research and evaluation of programmes and new techniques;
- serves other organizations by sharing its experiences and making available publications and teaching materials.

Projects and Achievements

A list of projects is given on page # showing the number of students, teachers and supervisors, from 1972 to 1990. During the period before the advent of placing TV sets in the class sites, closely supervised small groups achieved an outstanding rate of 94% success. In other words the drop-out rate had been reduced to only 6% for the full six-month course. The projects included a variety of people and constant revision of tactics to combine successful elements that were discovered and re-emphasized in each following campaign. These elements are listed as principles at the end of this paper.

Female Participation

Females were found to be better teachers and regular students; they had less drop-out and higher test scores. Considering the literacy rate among females which is as low as 5.5% in rural areas, the ABES was reaching those most in need of functional literacy. The afternoon classes also provided a social gathering for bored and lonely women who could fellowship in a positive activity approved by their husbands and leaders. In recent projects, women students outnumbered the men 2-1. The newly educated women also motivate the men to understand how literacy can be practical and to seek such classes for themselves.

Youth clubs have been formed to run libraries and carry out social activities. Classes ere started in factories with the cooperation of management and labour, each giving up half of their time for the class hour. Rural areas were successful when paved roads and electricity were available - two factors for progress and mobility.

A special project was launched in 1984, working with a particular nomadic tribe of beggars who lived in tents. The community leaders asked for education for their children who could then adopt another profession. In just five years with ten teachers, over 2,000 out of 10,000 total illiterates have been educated, many going on to matriculation. In just 24 months of basic literacy and nonformal primary education, the children were enrolled in the fifth and sixth grades of the local formal schools. Five graduates are teachers in their community.

Area Served

The ABES serves the districts of Gujranwala, Sialkot, Lahore, Kasur, Sheikupura, Jhelum and Gujrat of about 25,000 sq kilometres for running its adult education projects. however, the training courses, methodology via video lessons, books and other audio-visual aids include the whole country. Over 200,000 adults have been made literate directly through projects of the ABES while an estimate of over one million have been benefited through services rendered to other institutions. About 500,000 books are sold each year and 56 organizations have been served regularly through training and teaching aids. The ABES is the only private organization devoting its full time in the promotion of adult education in Pakistan. It has been represented in national and international workshops, seminars, study courses and conferences - particularly in South East Asia.

Methodology and Strategy

The adult literacy primer, NAYA DIN (New Day) was initiated 25 years ago, based upon the eclectic method of picture - word - syllables and sounds - writing - different exercises - short sentences to make a functional message or story, all in one page or lesson. The 56 lessons of the primer stage are covered in 60 days, an hour daily for six days a week. The trained teacher combines the precise teaching technique with the use of charts and flash cards attached to the portable blackboard. Audio and video cassettes of the primer lessons are also used by semi-trained teachers.

Following the requests from local leaders/other NGOs for a literacy programme, a survey of potential students and teachers is made. Teachers are carefully selected, trained, and approved by a responsible local committee. Smooth rapport with the teachers is established. Weekly visits are scheduled by the supervisors for observation, further training and distribution of equipment and books. Monthly meetings are held with teachers in the area of each supervisor.

The Post-primer phase takes the student through stage IV of carefully graded reading materials, which are four titles in each stage, chosen through interest by the student. A written test is given at the beginning of the course and at the end. The standard achieved in this six-month period is equal to the average 5th grade reading level and third grade level in writing and math. The post literacy curriculum is determined by the self-felt needs of the students who are asked during primer stage why they have been motivated to attend the classes regularly. What do they hope to read and what do they intend to write? Their answers are analysed and strongly considered in consigning manuscripts to professional writers. A staff editor checks the accuracy and reading level. The primer has been revised and re-printed 39 times and the 40th edition responding to recent minor objections, is now in the press.

Follow-up programmes are introduced before the basic course is completed for the sake of continuity. Depending on the needs, interests and facilities available, the local committee undertakes the running of libraries, health clinics, road building, sewing classes, and agriculture schemes. The ABES lends its help with some limited resources, loan schemes, box libraries, audio-visual aids and training. The community feels that this is their own project, for their own benefit.

Following the first six month period for the basic course, the next six months are used for testing of students, analysis of reports and evaluation, concentration on follow-up programmes, collection and repair of teaching aids and vacation for staff. Open training courses for other institutions, are offered, either in Gujranwala or at other places (all over the country); and surveys and future plans are made for the next campaign which usually begins in October. This second six month period occurs during the two harvest seasons, the scorching heat of summer and the monsoon rains, during which time classes in rural areas are most difficult to run regularly and efficiently.

Sources of Funds

- Membership fees;
- Sale of reading and teaching materials;
- International aid for different projects for a certain period, like EZE and Bread for the World. West Germany; CODE an CIDA Canada; Christian Aid London;
- NGOCC Karachi for population education;
- PVHNA Karachi for family welfare centres;
- Presbyterian Foundation Trust Lahore;
- Presbyterian Church USA - Lahore;
- Community participation and Special Contributions.

Cooperation with the Pakistan Television Corporation

In 1973, the Pakistan TV Corp. (PVT) created the Education Television Division (PTVO) and was seeking a project for its first venture. Literacy was the big need of the people and this challenge led the PTV to begin cooperation with the ABES. The Board of the ABES offered their full support plus the services of the Director, Vincent A David and other field staff. Mr David was appointed as the Manager of the PTV and also proved to be a skilled teacher in front of the TV camera. The years of experience in training and administration were quickly adapted to the television medium and the setting up of community viewing centres (CVC) all over the country. Mr David continued as Director of the ABES, which controlled its own CVC classes around Gujranwala to compare results with those centres run under other organizations. Video cassettes were produced for 156 lessons of the primary and the post primer course books. Mr David was the televised instructor. In addition, 20 lessons, were produced on video cassettes for the teacher training courses, based upon the guide-book for teachers, written by Vincent A David.

The medium of television worked for literacy because a proven method was adopted and professional experts were employed for its execution. A complete report of this project is published by ABES, giving the details of the procedure and the results.

Use of Television Transmission by the ABES

The CVCs of the ETV had different government and private organizations, such as the Family Planning Association of Pakistan. The number of classes was small and scattered, with varying results. The ABES had a consistent and full record of statistics, which showed its potential to experiment with a much wider and extended programme. Could the ABES cope with the logistics of 200 centres, involving 800 teachers, 80 supervisors and 20 000 students. The distribution of teaching aids, TV sets, regional supervision, 50 training sites, honorariums to be paid and other problems were to be solved by a single organization.

The ABES achieved the following results using TV transmission from 1978 to 1984:

	78/79	79/80	80/81	81/82	82/83	83/84
1. Total CVCs	165	196	192	218	167	288
2. Supervisors	60	68	65	62	56	88
3. Teachers (at the end)	442	665	626	455	493	894
4. Students who passed	12802	15987	15895	13189	9553	16360
5. Teacher-student ratio	1:29	1:24	1:25	1:29	1:21	1:18
6. Average per CVC	78	82	83	61	57	57
7. Drop-out rate	22%	19%	17%	24%	20%	16%
8. Pass rate	87%	76%	86%	83%	77%	88%
9. Age av. (both sex)	25Y	24Y	22Y	25Y	21Y	23Y

Mr Vincent A David resigned from the PTV to give full time to this extensive project. Funds were supplied from a German Organization called EZE. The video cassettes were used in each training site. A corps of ex-volunteer teachers

were chosen and trained as supervisors, mostly on the field with an experienced staff supervisor. The reputation and credibility of the ABES in the chosen areas rendered full cooperation from local leaders.

The pass rate is given as a percentage of the total student enrolment at the end of the programme achieving 50% or above in the examination.

Difficulties Using TV Transmission

The difficulties of transmission over the one and only channel for television in the country were unsolved and had their telling effects on the drop-out rate, time schedule, and desired results. Transmission time was limited, lessons cancelled for sports events, speeches by government officials, and other national coverage. The best time for the men's classes interfered with prime time programmes and schedules were often changed. Often the most motivated students were in small numbers too low for a TV class or their free time was not the same as the time given by PTV. Any delay or postponement of literacy lessons can prove to be disastrous for the early stage of learning and keeping up the morale of students. There were also a number of problems with studio time for recording.

In the light of the above mentioned problems ABES decided to develop its own video cassettes on the same lessons and by using video cassette players (VCP) have the programme in the village. With VCPs, classes can be held any time of the day and night for as many students that are truly motivated. The staff can handle the technical problems and ensure the cooperation of local committees. The cost of such equipment is becoming less and the VCR craze within the country has made this system familiar and accepted. The number of students can be multiplied with the increased number of class timings possible through the use of cassettes.

In 1987, keeping in view of the above facts, ABES produced 75 video lessons. These programmes were recorded at communication Centre, Sydney. The project was partially financed by Canadian Organization for Development through Education (CODE) Canada. From October 1987 to April 1988, these programmes were tested in ten different villages. At the end of course it was found that per capita cost less than the TV programme and the ability in reading and writing of the students was much better. One of the representatives from CODE visited the project.

In 1987, a primer was developed for teaching health components called 'Naya Din for Health'; in this year ABES started another project; ie, Health Education Adult Literacy (HEAL). In this project 60 classes were started in October 1988, enrolling 1000 women. In the last week of April 1989, a test was given to these students and the following results have been found:

1. Seventy per cent of group members could answer correctly in writing, some orally, according to class set books, cassettes and charts, 80% of questions on each of the following topics:
   - breast feeding
   - solid food for babies
   - oral rehydration

- immunization
- nutrition
- first aid

2. 65% of group members could make ORS correctly, according to method shown in the classes, using containers and ingredients available in the homes of class members.

3. 82% of pregnant group members had been immunized at the appropriate time with anti-tetanus injections.

4. 60% of group members' children under the age of two years had been immunized against TB, polio, whooping cough, diphtheria, tetanus and measles.

5. 90% of group members could state correctly where is their nearest properly functioning government or non-government curative institution, MCH centre and Family Planning Centre.

6. The following literacy results have been achieved:

   - 94% could read accurately from Grade four course books;
   - 79% could write accurately by taking the dictation and wrote simple letters;
   - 83% cold work out accurately some simple addition, division, subtraction and multiplication problems set.

7. Generally the students were found more active on personal hygiene, sanitation, etc.

8. Only 16.45% students dropped out during this project.

Production

The ABES has three departments for production of books, teaching aids, and audio-visual equipment. At the head office in Gujranwala, over 20 000 combination blackboards have been manufactured for its own use and sale to other organizations. Unique in design and practical in field use, the portable boards can stand upright on a table, chair, or rope-bed, due to metal box fixed to the back. This box contains the chalk, duster, books and the attendance register. The set of 36 primer charts are bolted on one side of the blackboard, leaving the other half for the teacher to write; afterwards the charts are removed and the teacher can use the whole 3 x 2 board for writing what is required in the post-primer stages. The 200 flash cards are plastic laminated and spiral bound to set in a special wire frame on top of the board. Charts and flash cards are revised with each revised edition of the primer.

The branch office in Lahore publishes over 200 titles of literacy and follow-up books on subjects such as health education, civics, family, vocational, recipes, biographies and religion. In a communication kit form flip charts, filmstrips and script cassettes accompany the books on health education subjects.

Filmstrip/slide projectors are produced locally to operate from the mains, batteries or hand-wind with a built-in generator. These blank cassettes are assembled from parts by disables people. Literacy songs have been produced on cassette for motivation. The integrated small media approach with small groups and discussion has been evaluated and proven effective for feedback and decision-making.

Research and Evaluation

Research and evaluation is built into each project and product, becoming 'formative' along with post-project reports. Pre-testing with target audiences is routine. An overall objective evaluation of the Society was done in 1983 by Mr Roger Harrison who came from the British Open University. His report shows that the ABES compares favourably with literacy programmes in other parts of the world (pages 49-52).

In the past two decades, the ABES has undertaken projects and surveys for other organizations. Through the channel of the Punjab University the USAID funded a project for 10-15 year old drop-outs. With 6-8 months the children were examined by school officials and enrolled in grades 3, 4 and 5. ABES methods proved effective with children.

Through the channel of the Allama Iqbal Open University in Islamabad, the ord Foundation funded a survey of the reading levels and habits of neo-literates throughout the country. The ABEs carried out the survey and submitted its report; over 50% retained their skills for two years of more.

List of Projects from 1972 to 1990

Project No.	Year of Project	Students Enrolled	Drop out Rate	Teachers	Supervisors
01	1972	370	6%	37	6
02	1973	1,286	22%	110	6
03	1973	1,605	7%	139	6
04	1974	821	10%	80	6
05	1974	64	50%	3	1
06	1975-1976	9,360	15%	536	30
07	1976	560	18%	36	5
08	1976-1977	998	14%	40	6
09	1978-1979	16,500	22%	704	56
10	1979-1980	19,848	19%	780	74
11	1980-1981	19,310	17%	752	71
12	1981-1982	17,475	24%	891	68
13	1982-1983	12,186	20%	594	56
14	1983-1984	20,562	16%	894	88
15	1984-1985	537	15%	33	6
16	1985-1986	2,390	18%	122	20
17	1986-1987	1,170	14%	94	16
18 *	1987-1988	9,800	19%	125	20
19 **	1987-1988	1,000	17%	60	10

List of Projects from 1972 to 1990 (cont.)

Project No.	Year of Project	Students Enrolled	Drop out Rate	Teachers	Supervisors
20 **	1988-1989	1,200	15%	63	10
21 *	1988-1989	12,700	20%	200	30
22 *	1989-1990	13,800	18%	225	34
23 **	1989-1990	1,500	21%	65	11

* Using VCPs
** Health Education and Literacy Project (HEAL)

Note: These projects were directly supervised by ABES.

PRINCIPLES:

ABES learned from its mistakes and formed the following principles to launch a successful literacy campaign.

01 Start the project in the area where there is an atmosphere of literacy and greater demand by illiterates. Opportunities for reading and obtaining literature are much greater.

02 Start in one small community and aim for 100 per cent literacy. Concentrate all efforts in a small community in order to gain success and to demonstrate the method to the staff itself, the leaders and visitors from other communities.

03 The local leaders should be involved right at the start of the programme with their recommendations, suggestions, approval and advice taken seriously. Opinion leaders rather than 'Official' or government leaders should be chosen. Those leaders who have definite interest in such a programme and are willing to give time for its proper implementation should be included in some type of local committee or advisory group.

04 Practical, functional programmes that meet the needs of the neo-literates should be planned before the literacy campaign ever begins. Definite written commitments should be obtained from the various nation building agencies and departments that will provide the facilities for literacy graduates to improve and increase their vocational and economic standards.

05 For adults small classes are more successful and will have fewer drop-outs. The number should be between 15-20 students to one class if it is face-to-face teaching and 30-35 students if it is video teaching.

06 In all programmes, women will be more successful than men in

regard to leadership, teaching and learning. For an initial high rate of success and high standard of results, it is suggested to involve them in the beginning stage. In women's programmes, concentrate on the Mother-in-law who is the most influential member of the family.

07 Close and regular supervision should be made available to each class at least once in a week by a trained and experienced staff member. Besides furnishing materials, books and other necessary supplies, he checks the progress and problems of students, observes the teaching method, and offers advice to teachers and local leaders.

08 The books and pamphlets should be attractive, short in length, in clear print, illustrated if possible, and should follow the proven methods of writing for neo-literates. These books should be for sale and not distributed free.

09 Always choose the best and tested primers, books, and teaching materials for successful literacy programme, improvement and revision may be made later, but the programme should not be delayed by starting another new primer and method.

10 The functional subjects like vocational training, general knowledge, current events, health and other subjects of personal interest should be included in literacy courses because illiterates want to learn about their daily problems.

11 A new readers' library should be organized by the local committee. The titles should be collected, prepared for use and made available to the community through a method of distribution that reaches the readers easily, cheaply and at their convenience.

12 Formal school teachers can be successful in teaching adults the skills of literacy if they are:

- carefully selected
- well trained;
- equipped with full sets of teaching aids;
- regularly supervised; and
- given monthly refresher courses.

They should teach a class where they live and preferably where they also teach in the formal school for children.

13 The timings for teaching should be set with the consent of students. Mostly the late evenings for men and afternoons for female classes are found to be best.

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